/156 cont./

152 The Indian lacks some of the more delicate feelings, such as that of compassion. He will not only mistreat an animal, laughing at its painful contortions, but even watch with indifference another person's suffering, even if it is his brother, father, or mother (cf. VII - 4, g (1)).

593 There is no doubt about the existence in the parents, particularly in the mother, of love for their offspring, especially when still in the first childhood. Even then it is a love more effective than affective, diligently learning about the children's health, for whom they procure remedies during illnesses and food. When it is a matter of children already grown, the esteem is contaminated by interest in the services they receive from them. And the grief that they express when the children are absent or die is because they no longer have anyone to bring them fish or cultivate the clearing.

847 Attenuating this presumption in favor of mother love is the use of infanticide, and many times it is the mother herself who wants /157/ and executes it. Moreover, cases in which the mother abandons the children, even though newborn, are known.

593 to 885 In the children the correlative feeling is counterbalanced, or perhaps exceeded, by their selfishness. When the parents become old, they easily abandon them, without providing clothing for them any longer, or even giving them medicine, food, or water (27).

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27. Pe. João Marchesi bears witness, with the authority of one who knows the totality of the natives, among whom he has lived for 35 years, and who, because of his heroic charity, cover for all the sacrifices, merited it when General Alexandrino Ferreira da Cunha called him "the Anchieta of the Amazon": -- "Among the elements of the same tribe, who consider themselves brothers, there is a certain outward cordiality and consideration toward someone else's suffering, but neither generosity nor a spontaneous

Vit Silva--226 M--, S (1+1-1+1+) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

197 cont.

593 /footnote 27 cont./ offering of help and means;
558 it is a cold and sterile egoism." The old parents are left abandoned when they do not move from the house of one child to that of another, in order not to be a burden." Nor can the natural love of the
593 847 procreaters be said to have a firm foundation, because of the cynicism with which they bury alive the newborn babies, suffocating them as one would do with any little animal" (in the book Os Tucanos /The Tucano/ by Pe. Antônio Giacone, p. 13).

593 581 Apropos of matrimony, Pe. Antônio Giacone writes: -- The Indian, not having love and tenderness for the woman, will be satisfied with the one that they give him, no matter whether she is pretty or ugly; it is enough if she is hard-working and gives him many children; if she is sterile, he will repudiate her as a useless thing, because every Indian marries for the sake of having many children" (Os Tucanos, p. 32). He censures the treatment of the
593 558 old parents on the part of the children as "indifferent and inhuman" (ibidem, p. 20).

593 758 In November of 1962, on the occasion of our stay in Iauareté, the following episode took place. A young man from Uaracú-ponta (river Uaupés), married a few months earlier, gravely ill with tuberculosis, asked the Director to take him to the Mission Hospital. There he had a visit by his wife, who remained in his company for some days. On a second visit, she burst into tears so noisily that the Director advised her that she should restrain herself or move farther away, in order not to add to the suffering of her sick husband. Nevertheless, two days before her husband's death, she wanted to leave for her povoado, taking with her the husband's hammock. And she did so, in spite of his insistent begging that she stay longer and leave his hammock.

a: Silva--227 M-4, 5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/157 cont./

533 Cases in which they buried their old parents alive are cited (28).
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28. There was shown to us in Uaracapá (river Papurí), upon leaving the povoado, the place where the hammock of a sick old man had been tied between two branches. And they had not only turned him out of the house in this condition, but also left him there in the open, without assistance or resources. As soon as he had died, they dug a grave under the hammock, cut the ropes of the old hammock, which fell, with the cadaver, into the hole, and covered /the footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ it irregularly with earth, as we could see in November of 1953. In June of 1954 an old Taryana about 70 or 80 years of age, shivering with cold, was found in the port of Iauareté. We do not know how he got there. Taken to the hospital in serious condition, he was laid on a hammock, given medicine, and had a hot water bottle applied (to replace the fire that they always use under the hammock). Days later, feeling well, he was questioned about where he came from. He interrupted immediately, saying that he did not want to go back to his house, because he was mistreated there by the children.

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We were informed about a Taryana from Pinú-pinú (river Uaupés) who mistreated and several times even spanked his own father, who was from Iauareté.

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At least while they are living in their own environment, they cling together among themselves, even among individuals of a different tribe, more than /158/ with a civilized person. There is not, however, any sign of particular friendship among

Silva-734 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/484 cont./

• 485 The old Indian will become a zealous continuer of the ancestral traditions, and he will find himself surrounded by the young men, who will listen with pleasure (4)

4. The Irmã Diretora /Sister Directress/ of one of the Missionary schools revealed to us with what surprising attention her young girl students drank in the words of some old Indian woman when she appeared at the school, being immediately surrounded by the school girls.

to his words describing the olden times, his feats, the life and history of the maloca, of the povoado, or of the tribe. And, with the respect of the new generation, he will preside over the births, warding off from the tribe, which is reborn in the children, misfortunes and sicknesses with the smoke of his cigar; he will instruct the young people in the duties and mysteries of the life of the group; he will be an outstanding figure in the sacred dances.

With age, his stout fibers break, and old age comes, with its train of sorrows, more pronounced for the Indian than /485/ for the civilized. He becomes useless to the group and a burden for the family. He then retreats to a dark corner of the maloca, lying in his hammock, perhaps without the strength to get up and sit on a seat. There, in silence, he will take his meal and spend long hours, remote from the noisy cheerfulness of the maloca, which perhaps is burning with life in the orgies of the Pooses.

A sole companion, which has never abandoned him since he saw the light of life, will still be at his side, giving warmth and comfort to his limbs, which are getting cold; it is the fire that burns near his hammock.

When his strength is insufficient for him to take his food by himself, forgotten, abandoned, with no one being concerned about him, he will waste away by starvation, resigned, without a word of complaint, without a moan of pain, until death comes to open for him the mysterious doors beyond the grave, where

4: Silva--735 M-4,5 (1947-1968) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/486 cont./

398 he will face Was-tí, the great Idea, the great Spirit, in which he has always believed, whom he has respected and feared and tried to propitiate, as his ancestors taught him.

764 When they become aware of the quiet and solitary catastrophe, the maloca will be agitated by the clamorous wailing of the nation for the mariner who has just passed away.

121 797 This, however, does not complete the cycle of native life. All of those tribes of the Caiarí are nowadays in direct or indirect relation with the "Civilização de Cristo" /Civilization of Christ/. The parents, under the impulse of paternal love, dream of making their child a civilized person, child of Brazil and of the Church. This sacred fire is kindled deep inside each youth, and for this reason he enrolls in the Catholic schools. They spend long and happy years there, without dissociating themselves, however, from their nation. And they return to their "brothers" with their minds more enlightened, greater material comfort, a belief in the Creator God of heaven and earth, Lord, Judge and Father, and a hope of a less sad old age, nourished by the hopes of a happy future life without end.

And the elders, to whom such a chance was not presented, will perhaps have assistance in the hospitals that the charity of Jesus Christ has erected in each Missionary center, and the maternal care of a Religious who tries to alleviate the physical pain and to comfort the soul. And, above all, they will have the hope of the assistance of a Missionary who, in the last moments of life, through the infinite efficacy of the Sacraments, will make him a child of God, will enrich his soul with grace and will open for him the doors of eternal blessedness. /Page 486 is blank./

5. Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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There is much talk in the region about powerful chiefs, but no one has really seen one. In the past, the Indians say, there were chiefs over all the sibs along a river. Koch-Grunberg was told the same thing (1909, I, 264). One is also told that other people have powerful chiefs. I had no opportunity to investigate this. But Koch-Grunberg, who traversed all the main rivers in the region, was always told that the chiefs along another river were strong. The Desana had only headmen, but they informed Koch-Grunberg that great chiefs ruled along the Papury and Tiquié rivers. When he got there he found only headmen. If there has been a stronger political organization among the Cubeo in the past there is no suggestion of it now.

The fact is that leadership follows similar principles among all neighboring tribes from whom we have adequate information. Describing the Arawakan Siusi, Koch-Grunberg notes that the headmanship is a hereditary office, going from father to oldest son or to his younger brother. The headman himself passes on the office to someone in his line. His authority is minor and is concerned only with village affairs. It is based on the respect owed to age. The headman among the Siusi, he adds, is a representative, receiving guests and leading all community activities and discussions. He sees to it that the house is kept in order, and if he leaves for any length of time he turns the command over to his brother. He maintains order but he cannot punish. A headman who had long associated with the whites claimed authority over the entire river but no one took him seriously. Koch-Grunberg had the impression, however, that the oldest man in the maloca was the headman (1909, I, 68). This is not quite true among the Cubeo. The Cubeo respect age, but leadership, to repeat, depends upon ability to be a giver, so that a man who has gone too far past his prime is ordinarily ruled out as a headman.

LAW AND JUSTICE

With respect to the administration of justice and of order the headman is no magistrate. He is a mediator, a counselor, and often a persuasive advocate of his own views. It is the entire adult community that must reach a decison. The headman provides for orderly discussion until a decision is reached. Within the sib a primary objective of the headman's efforts is to smooth over difficulties, calm tempers, and restore the atmosphere of congeniality. There are, however, serious breaches of the peace, such as sorcery, persistent adultery, chronic and malicious theft of food, and murder when punishment is called for. In such cases the aim of the headman is not to calm

5 Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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Certain indications, such as elaboration of potency magic within the ancestor cult, the frequency of adultery between young wives and older married men, and the common male complaint that their wives are too ardent, all point to some male sexual difficulties at least in the early stages of marriage. The women, who have their private erotic relationship with *aiya*, the moon, regard this luminary as an inspector of connubial coitus. He comes to observe, the women say, how much sexual power their husbands have. The moon, however, is only an observer, for male potency is the province of the ancestors and is not affected by any other magic. Women have love magic which they use often, but only to draw the attention of a man. It is interesting that while women ply men with love magic a man uses such magic only once, when he is seeking a bride. Once he is married he may prefer to apply an antiaphrodisiac to his wife. The suggestion then is of masculine potency disturbances. We may attribute these disturbances to the rules of community exogamy and their accompanying outlets in homosexual play, in masturbation, and in near incest. Since homosexual play and masturbation involve neither shame nor apparent guilt, their psychological effects are probably not lasting. Near incest, on the other hand, is censored and is kept secret, insofar as that is possible in a small community, and may, therefore, be a serious source of guilt and of more serious sexual maladjustment. Adultery does not seem to offer a convenient sexual outlet for the younger unmarried men, first because the young wives prefer an affair with an older married man, and second because very few young men would dare to risk the public disapproval of such an act. An older man will face his outraged sibmates, not to mention the outraged husband, with some *savoir-faire*. If necessary he will leave the sib and start an independent community elsewhere. But no young man will willingly break the bonds of male sib solidarity. He must fall back, therefore, upon the more troublesome sexual outlets.

Presumably what are problems of sexual adjustment for the boys are problems for the girls as well, but perhaps of lesser significance. Many girls have enjoyed satisfying sexual relationships with whites in the region, and even in near incest affairs the psychological problem for the girl would seem to be reduced because it is the male who is the guardian of sib morality and not the girl.

POSITION OF THE AGED

Among the Tucano, Father Giacone observed (1939, p. 25), the aged were miserably neglected. This in a sense is true of the Cubeo

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Enclosed relationships of mutual obligation are, as has been [illegible] and wife, between parents and dependent [illegible] between unmarried brother and sister, and between cere- [illegible] These relationships either do not apply to the aged, [illegible] they otherwise not be of great value to them. Generally [illegible] the aged can depend upon those who are younger and [illegible] for the generalized sib benefits of sustenance and com- [illegible]ship. The deprivation of the aged is in what one might mis- [illegible] call the nonessentials. There is no one to buy an old lady [illegible] petticoat or to get for an old man commercial tobacco. The [illegible] do not protest such neglect because they acknowledge their lack [illegible] Nonetheless, they feel their neglect and loss of status keenly.

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When I was among the *Bahukiwa*, an aged lady employed [illegible] to wheedle from me a new petticoat. Her hus- [illegible] old man, deigned to accept only an occasional [illegible] From time to time he brought me fish and the aged lady [illegible] some of her small garden produce to reciprocate my

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[illegible] took care themselves. The very old *Bahukiwa* [illegible] a good semblance of an independent household. The [illegible] no longer gardened, [illegible] and looked after children. She cooked for [illegible] The daughter-in-law provided her with manioc cake [illegible] a good fish meal, contributing to the palaver [illegible] consulted on many matters, particularly on trees [illegible]

[illegible]
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[illegible] upon the vigorous household heads [illegible] of things. They are entitled to no particular [illegible] to be feared as spirits to be, for the [illegible] ancestors and not in the [illegible]

[illegible]

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[illegible] determined by the Cubeo to natural causes such as [illegible] but if it is the result of illness, it must [illegible] some agency that has willed it. The most common agency

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[illegible] the agency is human or supernatural the reaction [illegible] centered on grief, anger, and fear. The Cubeo reaction [illegible] is to give full vent to grief and anger and to short-circuit as [illegible] as possible the forebodings that what has happened to one [illegible] The only deaths I heard about or witnessed were

The Forest Addicts

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